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National Security Advisor

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Let me add my apologies to those of the Ambassador. I don't know how long you have been waiting but I suspect it seems like a long time and I apologize. Let me just say a word about what we have done today and then I will be happy to try to answer the questions that you have.

We have come most recently from two visits, one to the Gako military camp where more than two thousand officers and enlisted personnel of the former army are now being reintegrated into the current army. We had a good discussion with them about the reasons why they had to come back and about their hopes for the future. Before that, we went to Nyanubuye, which was the scene of a massacre, and we had the moving and terrible experience of walking through the sights in which these massacres took place. We went through the church in which hundreds, perhaps thousands, of people had taken refuge. We saw in the church the bodies of some, including children, who have been murdered there. We then saw, in a long pathway through the garden towards other buildings, hundreds of bodies that we stepped around and over, and then saw other buildings in which other innocents, perhaps hundreds of them, had been killed with hand grenades and machetes. I think all of this is so sad (I think I speak for all of them) and that we dedicate ourselves in seeing that we are doing everything we can to prevent such things from ever happening again in Rwanda. Indeed, I think what we saw in these two stops was two different possible futures for Rwanda. A future of reintegration, reconciliation and return, or a future for the massacres. As I said, I think all of us, coming from this experience, want to work in every practical way we can to choose the future of hope rather than tragedy.

Before that, I met with the President and the Prime Minister and Ambassador Khan, the Special Representative of the Secretary General, and the Commander of UNAMIR Forces. In those conversations, as you can imagine, we discussed the importance of creating the conditions of security in Rwanda and the conditions of reconciliation that will encourage the return of those innocent of crimes to Rwanda so that they can take part in the life of this nation. I was assured by the President and the Prime Minister that there is and will be freedom of access throughout the country for UNAMIR and for human rights monitors. Ambassador Khan assured us also that access is, in his words, complete. The President told me that, indeed, he would like to see more human rights monitors than they had in for place that are now planned to come and he would like to see more to work out in the countryside and we hope that the European Union will, indeed, find more monitors to come. The President and the Prime Minister both said that, indeed, on the side of the Government there have been cases of abuses of human rights and the Government is and will be working to resolve them and to punish those who carry out such acts, either in the army or civilian personnel of the Government.

We also discussed, and this was on my mind as we walked around the scene of the massacre, the importance of the war crimes tribunal. Justice Goldstone will be visiting Kigali in a few days. He will be meeting with the President and the Prime Minister and other officials and then we will consult with the Government of Rwanda as to how best we can assist the process of the war crimes tribunal. Indeed, we have already begun to identify American

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officials who are experts in the field who can come to help. Anybody who saw the scene of that massacre must have rekindled the urge to see justice done in regard to the genocide that has taken place in this society. I might note that at the beginning of our meeting the Prime Minister expressed thanks for the aid that the American Government has already supplied, as I recall something in the order of a half a billion dollars in relief aid, and he specifically thanked the American tax payers. There are not many projects, perhaps given the current mood in the United States, in which I could with confidence say that I was sure that the American taxpayers were glad to have contributed their tax dollars but in this case I was absolutely confident in doing so. Rwanda is of tremendous importance to the American people, to this Administration and specifically to President Clinton. We intend to remain involved in doing everything we can to help create the conditions of security and progress that will lead finally to an end of the nightmare that we saw so graphically illustrated at the massacre sight and a much better future for the people of Rwanda.

A.L. Any questions? If not, I will have lunch now, please!

Q. Re effect of new Republican Congress on foreign aid/policy

A.L. Well, it was a Republican Party victory in the Congress; when I checked we still have the White House. I think that there has been perhaps an over reaction to that. If you could go back and look at the votes that have taken place on national security issues and, for example, very importantly, the votes before and after the elections on the GATT. The majorities that we have put together were majorities drawn from moderates, from internationalists in both parties. In fact, we have lost votes on the wings of both the parties, the Democratic Party on the left and the Republican Party on the right. We intend to continue to seek to build the coalition of the center bands of both parties, which we believe includes much of the leadership of the Republican Party as well as Democratic Party, so that we can continue to have the kinds of policies of engagement that the United States needs and that the world needs as illustrated by my conversations yesterday with President Meles and by what I have seen again here in Rwanda.

That kind of American engagement is tremendously important not only for the welfare of other peoples but for our own interests as well. So, I am not so pessimistic. In fact, yesterday at the OAU, when one questioner pointed to recent statements by some Republicans, not all Republicans but some Republicans, calling for great cuts in our foreign assistance programs, I suggested that, just as I do not believe in AFRO-Pessimism, they should not believe in AMERO-Pessimism and, in fact, I think America will remain engaged constructively for many months and years to come.

Q. Re handling of human rights issues

A.L. I regret that things have not moved more quickly. At the same time, this is a new situation. We have a Government that under extraordinary conditions is getting organized and one key is the ability now to provide two and half million dollars (\$2,500,000.00) in

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assurances by the Government which we very much welcome. First, they are naming one individual in the Ministry of Justice who will be a focal point for human rights cases so that we have fixed responsibility and we know exactly where to go in such cases. Secondly, the formal assurances in the documents we have just received that there will be complete freedom of access for UNAMIR and for human rights monitors. Again, I don't think we need a piece of paper (although we have it) because I also have those assurances from the President and the Prime Minister and we take them at their word.

Q. Re war crimes tribunal delays

A.L. Again, this is a new territory for the United Nations. They have been working on a similar tribunal for Bosnia but this is a new effort and I think it is natural that there be some delays. That does not mean that there should be unexcusable delays. I don't think we have reached that stage yet. We are extremely pleased at the appointment of Justice Goldstone who was known in South Africa not only for his commitment to justice and impartiality at a time when impartiality was hardly the system in South Africa but also for his courage in doing what he always thought was right rather than what was the prevailing sentiment in South Africa. I have met him, I was extremely impressed with him and I have very great confidence that he will move this along as rapidly as humanly possible and we will offer our support. I discussed this with the President this morning. We will offer our support in New York and will move this as rapidly as we can.

Q. Re reconstruction and development within Rwanda

A.L. I think it was more than appropriate that, initially, we concentrate on saving the lives of the people in the camps, the great majority of whom were innocent of crimes and who faced extraordinary hardships and possibility of still more massive and widespread deaths. That was something we could do something about in a hurry. I was very proud of the American military and our Government in the way that we acted to do so. At the same time, I absolutely agree that the greatest challenge before us is to move on now with reconstruction and development within Rwanda. That is the only answer for the future of Rwanda and is the only answer for the people in the Camps because, as progress is made within this country, then the conditions are created for people to return from the Camps. We are concentrating on that. That is why I am so pleased about the eminent prospect of the two and a half million dollars (\$2,500,000.00) and the clearance of the Arias because the World Bank is allocated, I believe, some fifty million dollars (\$50,000,000.00) worth of projects in Rwanda, which we believe should be done absolutely as quickly as possible so that we can turn to the task you quite rightly say is fundamental.

Q. Re need for a "Marshall Plan" and separating militia from people in the camps

A.L. With regard to the first part, the need for a Marshall Plan, I think that a fifty million dollar (\$50,000,000.00) program by the World Bank is a very significant start and a necessary aid. You may recall that one of the great benefits of the Marshall Plan was not so

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much that it primed the pump and the money that it sent in but it was used as a devise for bringing the Europeans together. Perhaps the most important thing the Marshall Plan did was to make the French, the Germans, the English and the others cooperate and reconcile after the war. I think there is still a lesson there for Rwanda as well that, unless the people of Rwanda come together in spirit of reconciliation after the terrible and understandable bitterness after the tragedy that has taken place here, then no amount of foreign assistance can prevent another tragedy. So I am glad you mentioned the Marshall Plan because there I think is an exact lesson for the people here. In the end, as I said yesterday at the OAU, the international community can support but the international community is not a savior. In the end the destiny of Rwanda is in the hands of Rwandans and we will do everything we can to help encourage the spirit of reconciliation that is so essential to that future. With regard to separating the militia from the people in the Camps, I will be quite frank to say that our Government, the United Nations, and other governments have not yet found an answer for that. I had, I think, useful discussions with the President and the Prime Minister this morning on possible ways to do so but I think perhaps the most difficult challenge before us is to work through a means for doing so and it is very important that we find that means so that the people who are held in the grip of those who committed criminal acts before can be released and find a better life here in Rwanda.

A.L. Thank you very much.

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